184 562 462 592 592 593 562 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 593 562 [606] The eldest woman in the household has authority over the younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-law, because during the period in which a married man resides with his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the [251] food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger women in the homestead.

592 593 434 562 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home. They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.

59 562 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers, and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

559 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
581 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
536 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

502 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
567 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
597 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

59 in the house of a mother-in-law" as one informant expressed it.
606 If they did not try to avoid this, they would have unquestioningly to obey their affinal relatives (especially the mother-in-law), live in a place in which they have practically no power to make decisions, and where, for a long time (even after the birth of a first child), they would be considered outsiders. But because the refusal to follow the husband means the end of the marriage, most husbands are successful in changing the place of residence, and few couples remain long in a uxorilocal setting.

059 757 606 3. The third reason for living in the wife's parent's house is a temporary one.

When a woman is living in her husband's parent's house, the household head should take the responsibility for curing if she gets mildly ill, paying the necessary expenses of medicine and curer (or doctors) because she is, by the fact of her residence within the compound, dependent on them.

If a sickness becomes a prolonged or a seriously expensive case, she becomes a burden to the household, without being an economic asset. Both her reproductive and her labor powers become annulled, and her husband's father can refuse to pay for her curing. In this case, she is transferred from her husband's group to her natal household, which becomes responsible for her curing. Usually her husband will move with her, but keep on working the land with his father.

59 602 757 These changes of residence create a certain amount of tension between the parents of the young couple because the woman's parents insist that it is not their duty to care for the daughter,

since she is married and living away from them, while the father believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her without delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

An interesting triadic relationship develops between a woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593
578 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
591 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
613 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592
476 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
•59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428
562 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

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562 and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

184 Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the
591 nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter
592 being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic
562 group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time,
[428] from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

184 The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units
182 of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the
591 rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.
592

184 1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred
591 over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of
562 the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

184 2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred
591 over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women,
562 while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as mar-
602 ried women do, under certain conditions.

184 3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is pre-
591 ferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain eco-
602 nomic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).